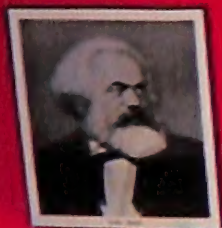




सी.पी.आई. (M.L) पीपुल्स वार  
और एम.सी.सी.आई की क्रांतिकारी  
एकता जिन्दाबाद ।

Hail the  
Formation of  
Communist Party  
of India (Maoist)





**If you must unite, Marx wrote to the party leaders, then enter into agreements to satisfy the practical aims of the movement, but do not allow any bargaining over principles, do not make theoretical “concessions”. This was Marx’s idea, and yet there are people among us who seek-in his name to belittle the significance of theory !**

**– Lenin, *What is to be Done***

**If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people to defeat imperialism and its running dogs.**



# EDITORIAL

For a long time we – the CPI (ML) PW and the MCCI prior to September 21, 2004 – lived a separate existence. Each of us went to the most oppressed and exploited, shared their every suffering, became inseparable from them, learnt from them and taught them, shared their dreams and organised them to realise their dreams. We fought the oppressors, battled the reactionary state in defence of the people. We loved democracy and revolution and yearned for the day when all exploitation could be ended. So we built the armed forces of the people for the liberation of our country to realise their dreams. Thousands of our comrades heroically laid down their lives in the battle to make it possible. Such selfless sacrifices arose out of our unshakeable faith in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, our unflinching belief in the inevitable triumph of Communism.

Separated by the boundaries of organisation, we were bound inextricably together by our ideology and practice. Convergence of trajectory was natural. We fought against the insularism in us that arose out of years of separate existence. We consulted, discussed and debated the differences between us. The process picked up momentum from early 2003. On 21st September 2004 we crossed the last boundary and merged both our organisations, giving birth to the new organisation the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

The merged organisation, the CPI (Maoist), is not just a simple arithmetic addition of our forces. It is a synergetic combination of two forces. It is a fusion of decades of varied experience, of lessons learnt – it is a merger of hard acquired wisdom. Forces that were battling separately and independently against a common enemy with a common goal have now been brought under a single directing centre. Latent talents and energies, which could not find expression in the limitations of a separate existence, can now flower. We will maturely and judiciously utilise these forces we have inherited, combine skilfully the science of revolution and the art of war, and increasingly deepen our grasp of the reality of the world we live in – thereby the Indian democratic revolution will be poised for a leap ahead.

When we look ahead into the future the tasks before us are formidable. The party has to be strengthened politically and ideologically, our fledgling guerrilla army has to be developed into a modernised people's liberation army, the guerrilla zones have to be made into self sufficient liberated zones and then onwards towards the full liberation of the whole country. Hundreds of millions of oppressed and exploited masses await our organisation. We have yet to develop powerful class struggles in the vast plains and in the metropolises, cities and towns of India. We have yet to build a strong and resilient working class movement. *A thousand deeds cry out to be done.*

The CPI (Maoist) calls on all workers, peasants, and all democrats and patriots, all those who desire revolution, all those who are concerned about the well being and dignity of the masses to rally to assist us in these onerous tasks. We call upon all communist revolutionary groups who treasure Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to extend their hand of unity in order to create a strong revolutionary party in India. We call upon all patriotic Indians residing abroad to rise to the occasion to strengthen the revolutionary effort in their motherland. Together we all must seize the hour! Seize the day!

To all those who desire to maintain the status quo the CPI (Maoist) defiantly declares that the day of reckoning will surely come. *The trees may want to rest but the wind will not subside.* A hurricane of unprecedented proportions is in the making in the remote villages. As it accumulates strength it will sweep through the plains and the urban citadels uprooting the decadent, obsolete and exploitative rule. *Because we dare to struggle, dare to win.*

# **Amidst an Upsurge of Revolutionary Fervour and Joy in the Commune.....**

## **The CPI (Maoist) comes into existence**

On the 21st September of this year, a new chapter began in the history of the Indian revolutionary communist movement, in the commune named after martyr heroes comrades Zakria, Julius, John, Veerendra, Satyam, Ganganna, Shankar, and Kanchan. Thus the long cherished great dream of thousands of our martyr leaders and fighters, right from Comrades CM and KC to the thousands who have since laid down their lives for the Indian revolution, that all the genuine Maoist revolutionary forces in the country should unite and form a single vanguard Party of the Indian proletariat, has become a reality with the formation of the CPI(Maoist) on that day. The unity process of the two genuine revolutionary Maoist streams in India – the CPI(ML) and the MCC – which was initiated exactly in this same month of September, 1981, by then leaders of both the Parties, comrades KC & KS and which was pursued with firm determination by our martyr leaders Comrades Prakash, Shyam, Mahesh and Murali and along with them the leadership, of both the parties, has successfully culminated in the formation of CPI(Maoist) on September 21st, 2004. Thus a great goal, the fulfillment of which the proletariat, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie, the revolutionary intellectuals, the democrats, the revolutionary women, youth, students, dalits and other oppressed sections of the country have been demanding from a long time, has been accomplished. By forming the unified CPI(Maoist) on that day, both the erstwhile MCCI and the CPI(ML)[PW] have fulfilled the promise they made before the other genuine Maoist revolutionary forces in the country and in the world, particularly to the Maoist forces in South Asia, that they will work with a firm determination to unite and will certainly unite.

The formation of the CPI(Maoist) is an event that will further intensify the fear in the hearts of the exploitative and oppressive big landlord-big comprador capitalist ruling classes of the country and of their mentors, the imperialists; an event that will impart immense additional strength to the revolutionary masses of India in their struggles; an event, that will further enhance the revolutionary fervour and joy in the Indian revolutionary camp, and in the international revolutionary camp, particularly that of South Asia. An event that will provide greater impetus to the idea prevailing among the genuine Maoist revolutionary forces still remaining outside this process of unification, that they too must rush forward to join hands and complete this process in its entirety. Thus it is a historical event that symbolises a new turn in the onward march of the new democratic revolution of India.

### **The Upsurge of Triumphant Joy**

As soon as the news about the formation of the united CPI (Maoist) was heard, there was an immediate upsurge of enthusiasm and triumph in the entire commune. As soon as the applause indicating the adoption of the resolution on the formation of the united Party by the joint meeting of the two CCs was heard, the Party activists, PLGA fighters and the Bala Sena and other cadres who were anxiously waiting for that good news for almost one month, rushed in haste, with the local revolutionary cultural troupe in the lead, raising slogans hailing this victory. They pushed their way into Comrades CM-KC Hall where the leadership was meeting, surrounded them and offered revolutionary greetings. As the 23 years long-cherished dream became a reality in the form of the CPI (Maoist), both the leaders and cadres, unmindful of their ranks, embraced each other with tears of joy rolling down their cheeks due to the unbound joy over the unity. Congratulating each other, they took pledges and raised revolutionary slogans. Thus, the celebration over the formation of the united Party, which started on the night of the 20th, went on uninterruptedly until the mid-night of the 21st.

Now, one cannot describe in words the revolutionary fervour that prevailed in the entire commune from day-break of the 21st. Each and every comrade's mind was centred on a single point – the formation day celebration of the united Party, scheduled to be held in the evening.

The formal celebration ceremonies of the CPI(Maoist) were held in the flag ground named after the beloved martyr comrades Kaumudi, Lata, Janardhan, Sheetal, Hemant and Manohar, on the evening of 21st September 2004.

Comrade Paresh, a senior leader of the unified CC presided over this meeting. Comrade Shome, another senior leader of the unified CC, addressed the gathering, formally announcing the formation of the CPI(Maoist). Then, Comrade Ganapathi, who was elected as the new General Secretary of this unified CC, addressed the gathering. In his address, he briefly introduced the five basic documents of this unified Party, and elucidated about the immediate,

principal and basic task before the Party. He called upon the entire rank and file of the Party, of the PLGA, and all the revolutionary mass organisations to march ahead fearing no sacrifices for fulfilling this task by all means. He offered his red salutes to each and every comrade from the SAC members and PLGA fighters to the Bala Sena, who worked day and night without any let up, to ensure that this meeting went on without any hindrances, and to the members of the revolutionary cultural team who were continuously inspiring the entire commune with their revolutionary cultural programmes. He concluded his address raising revolutionary slogans.

Thereafter, two senior comrades of the unified CC, Comrade Kishan and Prasad gave their messages. A senior comrade, com. Sharat, spoke after them hailing the formation of the united Party and paying rich tributes to the memory of our beloved martyr leader Comrade KC, who laid the seeds for this unity process. The revolutionary cultural programmes enacted under the leadership of the revolutionary cultural troupe, which went on for three hours, touched the very hearts of the audience and filled them with a war enthusiasm. Several comrades inspired as they were by the formation of the CPI (Maoist) wrote excellent poems and songs in different tongues – Hindi, Bengali, Assami, Odiya and English – and presented them in their own voice, mesmerising the gathering. Songs were sung in Hindi, Bengali, Assami, Nepali, Santhal, Kortha, Punjabi, Telugu, Tamil and Kannada languages.

A special mention must be made about the way the Bala Sena members celebrated this event. There was not a single dance or song in which they did not participate with full vigour and revolutionary fervour. All these programmes moved the entire audience in such a way that a revolutionary dance which began as the last item of the programme soon turned into a collective dance in which all the members of the commune joined and it went on for almost an hour. The celebration ended with this collective dance. The hills all around reverberated with the revolutionary slogans raised by commune members all throughout this programme.

### **An atmosphere of enthusiastic revolutionary unity prevailed right from the beginning**

An unprecedented atmosphere of enthusiastic revolutionary unity greeted the CCMs who came to achieve the task of forming an united Party by concluding the unity process between the MCCI and the CPI(ML)[PW], at every step. The cultural activists greeted these leaders, who arrived in batches one after the other, receiving each batch at the very entrance of the Commune, singing a revolutionary welcome song and leading them into the commune. After that they held a revolutionary cultural performance for more than an hour welcoming them. The song, they sang giving a call “unite” not only reflected the strong urge of the entire rank and file of both the parties, moreover it reminded the CCMs about their task, and it also revealed a strong expression of the atmosphere of revolutionary enthusiasm prevailing in the Commune. This cultural troupe initiated a new revolutionary tradition of offering comfort and imparting new energies among comrades who came tired after a long journey, through this revolutionary cultural programme. Of course, what else but the revolutionary cultural programmes can have the power of offering comfort and rejuvenating the revolutionaries, who work uninterruptedly day and night in their revolutionary tasks?

### **The fervour for revolutionary unity reflects even in the untiring efforts of the PLGA forces and of the Bala Sena!**

More than hundred fighters belonging to the local PLGA forces and a 15 member troupe of local ‘Kishore/Kishori Vaahini’ (Children’s Association) put in untiring efforts for about two months, before and until the conclusion of the meeting, to ensure that this meeting which was held for concluding the unity process between the MCCI and the CPI(ML)[PW] and forming an united Party ends in success. However, even while performing such back breaking work, they displayed only a war like enthusiasm for revolutionary unity in their faces, by never slowing even an iota of tiredness. They moulded a vast place in a valley surrounded by hills into a commune named after martyr heroes Comrades Jakria, Julius, John, Veendar, Satyam, Ganganna, Shankar and Kanchan, which had all the facilities, that will put modern cities to shame; they built spacious halls, a kitchen, dining room, computer room and other facilities to meet the needs of the delegates, the PLGA fighters and others. On top of all this, the amount of loving labour they put in the construction of the very spacious delegates meeting hall, named after our beloved martyr leaders Comrades CM and KC is worth remembering for ever. For fifteen days they toiled amidst incessant rains, flattened a big mound of earth, to prepare the ground for the hall with fine craftsmanship of a veteran carpenter and

***Revolutionary culture is a powerful revolutionary weapon for the broad masses of the people. It prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution comes and is an important, indeed essential, fighting front in the general revolutionary front during the revolution.***

***– Mao, Red Book***



of a mason and they built this beautiful hall and decorated its insides with a bright red cloth and with the portraits of our great Marxist teachers and of our beloved martyr leaders, giving an artistic shape to the spirit of enthusiastic revolutionary unity enshrined in their hearts.

Then, they set up four sentry posts, and three outer posts for the offensive, and provided strong security to the leaders and other members of the commune, maintaining a 24 hour vigil.

The entire party could learn from the services rendered by these fighters of the PLGA and by these little revolutionaries, who with an unceasing smile, never for a moment displaying neither tiredness nor loss of temper, and from the collective spirit and proletarian discipline all these comrades displayed. The aspiration for revolutionary unity, which they were cherishing in their hearts, is the cause behind their ever-smiling services and it laid a strong foundation for the unity of the CPI (Maoist).

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## Relations between the Two Parties

The brotherly relations between the two parties, the MCCI and CPI(ML)[PW], is quite old. Since the first meeting in 1981 there have been quite a few rounds of talks. After every round both parties would take one step forward towards unity, but because of some political differences unity talks broke down in 1995. After that PU and PW united in 1998. On the other hand tensions and clashes between the PU and MCC in Bihar/Jharkhand began in the early 1990s itself, which continued after the PW/PU unity. These clashes between the two organisations went on for about 5 to 6 years, in which hundreds were killed. On January 7, 2000 MCC gave a unilateral call to end clashes and the PW responded in the same way in March 2000. It was in the August 2000 bilateral meeting that a joint appeal was given to stop clashes and the period was categorised as a "Black Chapter" of the Indian revolution.

Finally it was in February 2003, at a high level bilateral meeting, attended by the secretaries of both parties, that unity talks began and both parties put forward a detailed self-criticism for the clashes. Then after a number of rounds of talks the two parties merged on September 21, 2004. In this process both put forward their written self-criticisms.

### MCCI's Self-Criticism

They put forward 5 major flaws – saying, *"While we said in words the PU (and later the PW) were revolutionary, in practice we treated them as revisionist and reactionary; considering PU and PW as adversaries we concentrated mostly on retaliation; giving wrong arguments sought to trap them in endless debates; we even did some activities that hurt the revolutionary image of the PW; and we sought not to accept our faults think that this would lower our image."*

These being the major errors of the MCCI, they stated that : *"It resulted from a petti-bourgeois outlook. Due to this trend an arrogant thinking, like 'We are no less than any body', developed. Also we were affected by a sectarian approach, subjectivism and a one-side approach. We express our sorry openly before the entire revolutionary ranks and people and express our deep regrets to the families of the affected."*

### CPI (ML)[PW]'s Self-Criticism

Seven points were presented : *"During the period of the Black Chapter we launched killing attacks on our class brothers; in the early 1990s itself the killing of Satyanarayan Singh was a result of our political weakness; giving the call 'Throw out the MCC' was a serious error; our propaganda and articles had an incorrect approach which reflected a wrong assessment of the MCC; we mainly blamed the MCC; we used non-proletarian methods to solve contradictions amongst the people; we became a tail to the sentiments of the rank-and-file."*

Both organisations expressed their self-criticism, gave their red salutes to the martyred comrades and expressed sorrow to the families of the affected. Both pledged : no matter how sharp the contradictions between them, they will never take up arms against their class brothers; they promised to the masses that such suicidal attacks would ever be repeated; and finally they said they vow to rectify their errors and always persevere to become better proletarian revolutionaries.

***But in order to change tactics it is first necessary to have tactics; without a strong organisation skilled in waging political struggle under all circumstances and at all times, there can be no question of that systematic plan of action, illumined by firm principles and steadfastly carried out, which alone is worthy of the name of tactics.***

***– Lenin, Where to Begin***

# **Let us carry aloft the glorious Red Banner of the CPI(Maoist), which symbolises the great cause of our beloved Martyr Comrades !**

## **Let us March Ahead on the path the Martyr Heroes forged with their own blood !!**

The CPI(Maoist) came into existence as a symbol of the great cause and aspiration held high by thousands of our beloved martyr heroes and martyr leaders that a single Maoist party must be organised, which will be the vanguard of the proletariat of India, which will provide leadership to the New Democratic Revolution in India. The Naxalbari revolutionary peasant armed struggle erupted tearing into pieces the hearts of the revisionists and the neo-revisionists and trampling underfoot the parliamentary path and brought forth the path of protracted people's war. Thousands and thousands of martyrs starting with the first martyr in the era of Naxalbari, Comrade Babulal Biswakarma, and comprising of such great leaders like Comrade Charu Majumdar and Kannai Chatterjee, thousands of other leaders, cadres and revolutionary masses have laid down their invaluable lives during the course of defending the line handed down by Naxalbari and advancing it ahead. The general line of the united CPI (Maoist) is nothing but the Naxalbari line, which was further strengthened by the synthesis of the invaluable experiences of the past decades of intense class struggle, and also accumulated through the blood sacrifices of thousands of martyrs gained, during the past four decades. Basing on this rich

**"This conception of history depends on our ability to expound the real process of production, starting out from the material production of life itself, and to comprehend the form of intercourse connected with this and created by this mode of production (i.e. civil society in its various stages), as the basis of all history; describing it in its action as the state, and to explain all the different theoretical products and forms of consciousness, religion, philosophy, ethics, etc. etc. arise from it, and trace their origins and growth from that basis. Thus the whole thing can, of course, be depicted in its totality (and therefore, too, the reciprocal action of these various sides on one another).**

**Karl Marx, *The German Ideology***

array of experiences, the CPI (Maoist) further enhanced its theoretical understanding, has further improved its political, organisational and military understanding, and was able to formulate principles, policies, tactics, methods and style in accordance with them.

The sparks of the Naxalbari revolutionary peasant armed struggle soon ignited prairie fires all over the country. Thousands of new forces emerged out of these fires and efforts towards organising all these forces into a single Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party began in those days itself. These efforts crystallised into two Marxist-Leninist-Maoist streams in the main.

As a part of these efforts only, the CPI (ML) was formed on April 22, 1969 under the leadership of Comrade CM. It immediately took up the task of coordinating and advancing the revolutionary

peasant armed struggles and class struggles then raging in West Bengal, Andhra, Punjab, Bihar, UP, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and other areas. Though the movement led by this party met with a setback it got rejuvenated by 1980 and was able to extend in the above states and to newer areas like the Dandakaranya Jarkhand, Maharashtra, Haryana, etc to intensify the guerrilla war and to intensify the protracted people's war by establishing guerrilla zones aiming at the establishment of guerrilla bases and liberated areas. Hundreds of great leaders inclusive of the founder leaders of the party, Comrade CM, Saroj Dutta, Panchadi Krishna Murthy, Vempatapu Satyam and Adibhatla Kailasam, CC leaders like Comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali, leaders at other levels, mahilla comrades like Nirmala, Snehalata, Jyoti, Padma, Lalita, and thousands of guerrilla fighters, party cadres, sympathisers, leaders of the working class and the peasantry, and revolutionary intellectuals and masses have laid down their lives during the 37 year process of defending the Naxalbari line, further strengthening it, intensifying the people's war and valiantly facing and resisting the repression campaigns let loose by the exploitative ruling classes. They handed down their invaluable

experiences to the party. The party made a review of the precious and invaluable experiences these martyrs acquired and left behind through their blood sacrifices thrice: first in 1980, the second in 1995/97 and the third in 2001. It synthesized them and went on further enriching its line. This was one of the two Maoist streams.

On the other hand, in the wake of Naxalbari and the turmoil-ridden decade of the 60s, the second Maoist stream got organised with those revolutionary forces that emerged in the revolutionary battle field. The Maoist Communist Centre was formed on October 20, 1969 under the leadership of the great martyr leaders Comrade KC, Amulya Sen and Chandra Sekhar Das. The MCC started its revolutionary activities at first, in the 24 Paraganas district of West Bengal. The flames of the struggle that party ignited in that area extended very soon to Bihar and Jharkhand. In particular, these flames created a glorious chapter of revolutionary armed peasant struggle in the strategic areas in Jharkhand. Later, this movement gradually extended to the lower Assam area, Orissa, Chattisgarh, UP, Uttarakhand, Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Rajasthan, Karnataka, Kerala, and MR areas and took shape as an all India movement, thus evolving as the MCCI. Hundreds of leaders at various levels, including the great founding leaders of the MCCI, Comrades KC, Amulya Sen and Chandrasekhar Das and hundreds of guerrilla fighters, party cadres, sympathisers, leaders of the working class and the peasantry and the revolutionary intellectuals and masses laid down their invaluable lives during these 35 year course of developing the movement, which began in a small area with a few comrades, into a great and glorious all India revolutionary movement, and into a protracted people's war that created panic not only in the hearts of the exploitative and oppressive ruling classes of India but also in the hearts of the imperialists, particularly in the hearts of the US imperialists, and in facing and repulsing the brutal offensive of the enemy, while defending the movement. The MCCI made a review of these invaluable experiences of class struggle and armed struggle, handed down to the party by hundreds of martyrs once in 1989 and again in 1996, synthesised them and further enriched its line basing on the essence of this synthesis.

These two parties, which progressed as two separate Maoist streams have now been able to synthesise into a single revolutionary line, the essence of all the valuable experiences thousands of martyr heroes belonging to these two streams accumulated through their blood sacrifices, by uniting to form the CPI (Maoist). Hence, the revolutionary line of the CPI (Maoist) is nothing but the Naxalbari line, which got further enriched and strengthened by absorbing the invaluable experiences of class struggle and armed struggles accumulated over the past four decades. The CPI (Maoist) came into existence fulfilling the dreams of the great martyr comrades.

On the occasion of the formation of the CPI (Maoist) let us pledge that we will carry forward the bright red banner these comrades handed over to us in order to liberate this land made much holier by the rivers of blood shed by our beloved martyr heroes! Let us pledge that we will certainly achieve victory in the Indian New Democratic Revolution, by marching ahead, fearing no sacrifices, along the indelible footprints of our martyr comrades !!

*Red Salutes to our great martyr Heroes !*

*We will Certainly achieve the causes of the great Martyrs !!*

*Long Live the CPI (Maoist) !*

*What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which no force can smash, no force whatsoever. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it. Rallying millions upon millions of people round the revolutionary government and expanding our revolutionary war we shall wipe out all counter-revolution and take over the whole of China.*

*Mao, Red Book*



## **CPI(ML)[PW] and MCCI - Merged Communist Party of India (Maoist) Emerged**

On Sept. 21, 2004, amidst the thick forests in some part of India, the formation of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) was declared at a public meeting before an assembly of peoples' guerrilla fighters, party activists and activists of mass organisations. This declaration is now being released to the entire people of our country and the world. The two parties, the Maoist Communist Centre of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)[People's War] were merged to form the new unified Party, the CPI(Maoist). The formation of this new Party has fulfilled the desires and aspirations of the oppressed masses of the country for a genuine proletarian party that can lead them to revolutionary change for the establishment of a new democratic society, advancing towards socialism and communism.

This unified party has been formed after thoroughgoing discussions held between the high level delegations of the two parties initially and then finalized by the Joint Central Committee meeting of both the parties. Through these thorough-going and constructive discussions, held on an equal footing, five documents have been drafted and finalized. These documents are: *Hold High the Bright Red Banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*, the *Party Programme, Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution*, the *Political Resolution on the International and Domestic Situation* and the *Party Constitution*. In addition to these documents it has also been decided that our beloved leaders and teachers of the respective parties, the late Com. Charu Mazumdar and Com. Kanai Chatterjee, will be recognized and highlighted as the founding leaders of the unified party. It was also decided that both these parties, stemming from the turbulent period of the decade of the 60's, particularly from the great Naxalbari uprising, livingly inherited all that was revolutionary in the long history of the Indian communist movement. The peculiarity of the situation is that both these parties continued to flow as two separate streams of the revolutionary communist movement, wedded to the same cause of carrying forward the Indian revolution over the past 35 years. All these steps taken together clearly disclosed a unified understanding on almost all ideological and political questions of line. The line established provided a principled basis for the unity achieved by both the parties. Basing on this unity the Joint Central Committee meeting finally resolved to unite the two parties into a single unified party, which will henceforth be called as the Communist party of India (Maoist). Com. Ganapati was unanimously elected as the general secretary of the new party.

The formation of the unified Communist Party of India (Maoist) will certainly prove to be a new milestone in the history of the communist movement of India. A unified Maoist party based on MLM continued to be a long and highly cherished need of the revolutionary minded and oppressed people of the country including all our ranks, and also all Maoist forces of South Asia and internationally. Today this long-cherished desire and dream has been transformed into a reality.

The new Communist Party of India (Maoist) will continue to act as a consolidated political vanguard of the Indian proletariat. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism will be the ideological basis guiding its thinking in all the spheres of its activities. It will continue its struggle against right and left deviations, particularly against revisionism, by taking this as the main danger for the communist movement as a whole. It will still seek to unite all genuine Maoist groups that remain outside this unified Party. The immediate aim and programme of the Maoist party is to carry on and complete the already ongoing and advancing New Democratic Revolution in India as a part of the world proletarian revolution by overthrowing the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system under the neo-colonial form of indirect rule, exploitation and control. This revolution will remain directed against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. This revolution will be carried out and completed through armed agrarian revolutionary war, i.e. protracted people's war with the armed struggle for the seizure of power remaining as its central and principal task, encircling the cities from the countryside and thereby finally capturing them. Hence the countryside as well as the Protracted People's War will remain as the "center of gravity" of the party's work, while urban work

will be complimentary to it. Because the armed struggle will remain as the highest and main form of struggle and the army as the main form of organization of this revolution, hence the armed struggle will continue to play a decisive role, whereas the UF will be built in the course of armed struggle and for the seizure of power through armed struggle. Mass organizations and mass struggles are necessary and indispensable but their purpose is to serve the war. We also declare that the PGA and PLGA have been merged into the unified PLGA (Peoples' Liberation Guerrilla Army). Hereafter, the most urgent task i.e. principal task of the party is to develop the unified PLGA into a full-fledged People's Liberation Army (PLA) and transforming the existing Guerrilla Zones into Base Areas, thereby advancing wave upon wave towards completing the New Democratic Revolution. The formation day of the PLGA is to be December 2, the day when a people's army was formed for the first time ever in our country in 2000, on the first anniversary of the martyrdom of the three CCMs, com. Shyam, Mahesh and Murali.

Apart from this the unified party will continue to pay added attention to building a new wave of revolutionary mass movements on various political and other issues of the people. It will involve all the vast sections of the masses in these struggle directed against imperialism, feudalism and the comprador bureaucratic capitalism. The vicious imperialist offensive on our country has resulted in mass destitution of an already impoverished people, particularly in the countryside, which has even witnessed thousands of suicides. The CPI(Maoist) will mobilize vast sections of the masses against the growing onslaught of the imperialists on the country, against state repression together with mobilizing support for all the movements directed against imperialism and feudalism. The new party will also continue to support the struggle of the nationalities for self-determination including their right to secession and condemn the brutal state repression on these movements. It will pay special attention in mobilizing and organizing the women masses as a mighty force of the revolution, and will fight against all other forms of social oppression, particularly untouchability and casteism. It will continue to expose, isolate and defeat the more dangerous Hindu fascist forces, while exposing all other fundamentalist forces. It will continue to do so while keeping the edge of the people's struggles directed against the new Congress rulers in Delhi along with the CPI/CPM and their imperialist chieftains.

It will continue to expose and resist the expansionist designs of the Indian ruling classes along with their imperialist chieftains, particularly the US imperialists. It will more actively stand by the side of the Nepali people led by the CPN(Maoist), and vehemently oppose the Indian expansionists and US imperialists from intervening in Nepal with their military might. It will also continue to support the people's war led by the Maoist parties in Peru, the Philippines, Turkey and elsewhere. It will continue to support all people's struggles directed against imperialism and reaction. It will also support the working class movement and other people's movements the world over. It will continue to stand by the side of the Iraqi and Afghan people in their mighty struggle against the US imperialist-led aggression and occupation.

The Unified Party will continue to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism and will continue to contribute more forcefully in uniting the genuine Maoist forces at the international level. Besides, it will also establish unity with the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and continue to fight shoulder to shoulder with them in advancing the world proletarian revolution against imperialism and their lackeys, thereby paving the way towards realizing socialism and then Communism on a world scale.

Thousands of our martyrs have laid down their valuable lives for these lofty aims. The Central Committee (Provisional) of the unified Party – CPI(Maoist) – pledges that it will continue to advance on the path illuminated by them and thereby mobilize all its existing and latent energies in transforming the dreams of the martyrs into a reality.

**With revolutionary greetings,**

*Kishan*

**General Secretary  
Central Committee  
Maoist Communist Centre of India**

*Canapathy*

**General Secretary  
Central Committee  
CPI (M-L)[People's War]**

**Date: 14-10-2004**



## **Long Live the Great Leader Comrade Charu Mazumdar - the Path Breaker of Indian Revolution**

It was 1962. The Indian government attacked Socialist China, declared an emergency and deployed thousands of intellectuals to whip up national chauvinism. All the stalwarts of the then CPI surrendered to the government. During these dark days, Com. Charu Mazumdar raised his voice against this heinous act and mobilised the people to express their resentment. He was put in jail. After his release from jail, he entered the party office at Siliguri, pulled down the photo of Dange, the arch revisionist, and threw it onto the floor. Party members who were present there at that time cannot forget this episode - an open expression of hatred against modern revisionism.

He continued the struggle against revisionism and modern revisionism with firm determination. He laid down the path for the revolutionary movement in India. The Naxalbari peasant uprising emerged. The ideological-political line formulated by him was put into practice. The Naxalbari uprising - a Spring Thunder Over India - emerged, raising the revolutionary banner. Thousands of revolutionaries, workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and youths, men and women rallied behind the Naxalbari uprising and its leader com. Charu Mazumdar.

Com. Charu Mazumdar emerged as a revolutionary leader through a long process of participation in class struggles. When he was a school student he became a member of the All Bengal Students Association, affiliated to the Anusilan group, an organisation of petty bourgeois national revolutionaries. Within a few years he left college and began to organise bidi workers. At the end of the 1930s he became a member of the CPI and engaged himself to organise the peasantry and became a member of the Jalpaiguri district committee in 1942. During the period of the great Bengal famine, he organised the peasants for the seizure of crops from the landlords and hoarders. He was one of the prominent organisers and leaders of the Tebhaga peasant movement of 1946-51. He led the peasants of Dinajpur district in North Bengal. This armed peasant movement unfolded various aspects of the revolutionary peasant struggle which com CM appropriated and developed further in the latter years. The Tebhaga movement was suppressed by the govt resorting to brutal atrocities.

Com. Charu Mazumdar was then transferred to organise tea garden workers of Darjeeling district. After the division of the CPI, he joined the CPI(M). But soon he realised that the party had been following the neo revisionist line under the cover of revolutionary phraseology. In 1964-65 he was sick. He devoted time in studying Marxist literature and Mao's writings. After recovering he continued his activities within the peasants of Siliguri sub division in Darjeeling district. He developed the revolutionary line on the basis of his past experience of class struggles fused with the theoretical struggle against modern revisionism. In his articles, which are now known as the eight documents, he put forward this revolutionary line, and organised a mighty revolutionary peasant movement on the basis of this line. Thus emerged the Naxalbari uprising ushering in a new era of the revolutionary movement in India. Defying the threat of the govt, the 'Naxalbari Krishak Samgram Sahayak committee' was formed by the Communist revolutionaries of the state. On the basis of this line, communist revolutionaries of the country united under the banner of the AICCCR which led to the formation of the CPI (ML) under the leadership of com. CM.

Com. Charu Mazumdar was the first General secretary of the CPI(ML). Under his leadership the CPI(ML) organised revolutionary peasant struggles with the aim of seizure of state power. The struggle spread throughout rural India. Thousands and thousands of peasants marched ahead to fulfil their long cherished aspirations for land, livelihood and liberation. The Party raised the slogan - land to the tiller; all powers to the revolutionary committee. The Party raised the slogan - establish people's democracy through the seizure of political power. Whenever they raised their voice, against exploitation, repression of landlords, hoarders, and other exploiting classes, the govt came down on them. The unarmed peasants had to face the ruthless brutal atrocities of the armed forces. The Party therefore raised the slogan for the first time - build the people's army, take up the path of Protracted People's War. On the basis of the revolutionary line formulated by com. Charu Mazumdar, the peoples' struggles have been advancing through ups and downs, twists and turns, and the opening of newer and newer fronts. These advancements threaten the very existence of the ruling classes, and the imperialist forces.

Com. CM made a significant breakthrough at the ideological level in the fight against revisionism and the introduction of MLM to the concrete conditions of India. His historic Eight Documents, his documents of the AICCCR, his Congress documents and his articles in the official organs of the CPI(ML) are part of his invaluable political and ideological contributions.

Com. CM was arrested on 16th July 1972, from a shelter in Kolkata and was killed in police custody on July 28th, 1972. Though it was a great loss for the Indian revolution and the CC of the CPI(ML) was disrupted after his martyrdom, the revolutionary legacy of Naxalbari and of comrade CM continued by the genuine revolutionaries of the CPI(ML) stream like the PW and PU that became unified into a single Party in August 1998. Inspired by the great trail blazed by com. CM, the revolutionary people of the country continue to hold high the great red banner of people's democratic revolution and advance along the path showed by com. CM crying aloud: "Naxalbari Ek Hi Raasta!"

## **Long Live the Great Teacher and Leader of Indian Revolution - Com. Kanai Chatterjee**

Com. Kanai Chatterjee, popularly known as Com. KC, was born to a well-off family in 1933 in village Baruikhalli, Barishal district of today's Bangladesh. From his childhood days the anti-British movement had a big impact on him and he developed much hatred for British colonial rule.

At the young age of 15 he passed his metric from Kolkota and joined the science course in Ashutosh College. But due to activities in student politics he switched to a Commerce course at Shyam Prasad Mukherjee College. After completing his B.Com., he joined the undivided communist party.

In 1953 he began work in the Tiljalla suburban area of Baliganj in Kolkota. This area had a vast working-class population living in slums. Starting his party work in this region he established a mass organisation, the "Citizen's Rights Committee", and developed deep relations with the oppressed masses of the area. Within a little time he became popular in the area. He was particularly popular amongst the Muslim masses as he developed close ties with their problems and movements.

In 1959 com. KC became the secretary of the Baliganj local committee of the undivided communist party and at the same time became a leader of the oppressed masses of the region actively leading them in numerous struggles. In this way com. KC emerged as a friend and leader of the workers and oppressed masses of the area.

In 1959 he participated in the "food movement" led by the CPI against the then Congress Chief Minister, Vidhan Ray, though he strongly opposed the CPI method of mobilising thousands of the peasants for rallies in the city. In that movement, during a huge rally at Dharamtalla in the heart of Kolkota, the police resorted to a ruthless lathi-charge, tear-gassing and firing. In this about 81 people were martyred and com. KC was seriously injured when hit by a bullet in the leg.

During the 1962 India-China war, because of his opposition to India's aggression on China, he was arrested under the NSA. In the jail itself he raised the banner of revolt against the opportunist leadership of the CPI. There, he came in touch with comrades Amulya Sen and Chandrashekhar Das. On coming out they formed a secret centre within the CPM called "Chinta". The secret magazine launched a detailed exposure of the revisionist line of the party. To increase its impact and reach of the group's exposure of revisionism, he began bringing out the open magazine "Dakshin Desh" from early 1966.

It was at this same time that Khrushchev revisionism became victorious, which had a big impact in India as well. The struggle between Marxism and revisionism in India began to sharpen. Com. KC intensified the political and ideological struggle within the party and declared the 1964 party document as revisionist. This was an example of their attempts to fight revisionism in the very movement itself.

At that time the ideals of Mao's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution reached the shores of India. Adopting the GPCR call that it is "Right to Rebel", com. KC broke all links with the old revisionist party.

In 1967 the historic Naxalbari uprising took place under the leadership of Com. Charu Mazumdar. Great turmoil spread throughout the country. The revolt against revisionism spread like a wave. A coordination committee of communist revolutionaries was formed. But, due to differences on the method of the formation of the Party, the "Dakshin Desh" group could not join the CPI(ML) formed in April 1969. Under the leadership of Com. KC, and together with comrades Amulya Sen and Chandrashekar Das, the MCC was established on October 20 1969.

Since then it is Com. KC who has been integrally linked with the politics and growth of the MCC. In this course Com. KC has been responsible for many a historic document that helped develop the line and policies for the revolutionary movement in India. Some of his invaluable contributions to the development of the line for Indian revolution were: a document related to Strategy and Tactics and a tactical line for India's armed agrarian revolution; a correct approach towards the nationality question in India; an approach towards the election question in India and the determination of the basic line of the Indian revolution. But his contribution was not just limited to just this. To implement this line in practice he put in Herculean efforts. With the goal of establishing the people's army and Base Areas he selected strategic areas for work; undergoing untold difficulties he laid the seeds of the new organisation; and he initiated the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla struggles along the path of protracted people's war.

Com. KC's communistic life-style is a living example of how a true communist should be. His total and undeviating devotion to the workers, peasants and oppressed masses is a bright example for us all. Unfortunately he died at the young age of 49, on July 18, 1982, due to illness.

Today Com. KC is accepted as one of the leaders and teachers of the Indian revolution. Adopting true proletarian values he became an effective theoretical leader of the revolutionary movement. He was a true friend, comrade-in-arms and leader of the oppressed masses of the country. The seeds he sowed have grown into a great tree, with deep roots, flowering and blossoming in the vast countryside of India.

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## Introducing the MCCI

The history is linked with the period immediately following the revisionist 7th congress of the CPM in 1964. The MCC identity came afore as "Chinta" at the inception, and as "Dakshin Desh" later.

In 1967, there was the spring thunder over India. The Naxalbari struggle was a historic revolt. Till then they remained as the "Dakshin desh" group. After the Naxalbari struggle, the All India Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries was formed. They joined the Co-ordination in Assam and West Bengal.

Later, after the formation of the CPI(ML), on 20th October, 1969, the MCC was formed. Kanai Chatterjee, Amulya Sen, Chandra Sekhar Das were the founder leaders.

Com. KC wrote a basic document: "Strategy and Tactics". It was published in May 1969. The document clearly demarcated the revolutionary line from the revisionist line. It said that in all our activity, the centre of gravity will be the formation of the people's army and base areas. Com. KC wrote another important document, namely, "*Let us jump into armed struggle, Intensify the work for the people's army and base area*". It was published in 1971. The third document that Com. KC wrote was: "*Intensify the fight against Parliamentary politics and liquidationism*", hold aloft the flag of agrarian revolution and protracted people's war.

These documents have been the basis and guidance for the political work of the MCCI.

The MCCI, from the beginning, has stressed the need for the formation of the people's army and base areas. Keeping in view the path of protracted people's war, it selected strategic areas. It gave first and immediate importance to Assam-Tripura, and second importance to the special area comprising Bihar and the western part of Bengal.

In 1966, the work in the rural area was started in the Dihi-Sonarpur area of the 24 Pargana district which is close to Calcutta. While synthesising the work in a positive way, they implemented the accrued experiences in Assam-Tripura, Kanksa-Budbud-Ausgram of Bardhwan district, and Hazaribagh and Gaya and Aurangabad districts of the present Jharkhand State.

To build up Assam-Tripura into a perspective area, they started work there. Because of lack of experience they could not develop the work there as expected. They had to withdraw work from there as there was serious encirclement and repression by the enemy.

There was a new surge in the movement of the Kanksa-Budbud-Ausgram of Burdhan district of West Bengal. This struggle continued till 1973-76. As there was serious encirclement and repression, the Kanksa struggle had to retreat from the area. But the rich experience gained from the Kanksa struggle laid a basis on the strength of which the MCC could develop the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla struggle of Bihar, Jharkhand-Bengal special area committee to the present higher stage.

The MCC stressed the seizure of power from the very beginning. That was why they emphasised on the formation of the Krantikari Kisan Committee. Basing on the two fundamental slogans, "*Land to the real peasants*" and political power to the "*Krantikari Kisan committee*", the MCC took the task of building up revolutionary guerrilla warfare. Today it has developed 80% of Bihar-Jharkhand-Bengal into a guerrilla zone and took the task of developing it into base area. To advance the revolutionary peasant movement, and to establish revolutionary people's power, the MCC formed the PLGA and in April 2003 consolidated and co-ordinated the armed forces. Today the MCC has many platoons and companies in the PLGA. In the special area, they have fought many historical struggles against feudalism and imperialism. They destroyed hundreds of Kacheharies (feudal courts) of the landlords. 50 thousand acres of land has been seized and distributed among the people. Private armies – Satendra Sena, Sunlight Sena and the Savarna Liberation Front – were destroyed. They succeeded in defeating the Ranvir Sena. They raided dozens of police stations. They laid umpteen number of ambushes on the armed police and paramilitary forces. By these raids and ambushes, they seized scores of weapons. In these 35 years of struggle, while fighting the feudals, feudal armies, and police, more than one thousand comrades have laid down their lives.

From the beginning, the MCC has been building and developing mass organisations and mass struggles on the basis of the understanding that they should serve the war. They rallied workers, peasants, students, youth, women, intellectuals, cultural workers under various organisations. In Bihar-Jharkhand, many of the mass organisations have been banned. Emphasising on the united front, they stressed on forming the Krantikari Kisan Committees. In their

areas they are advancing in the direction of forming Krantikari Jan Committees.

The MCC has developed and extended the work among nationalities in Jharkhand, and in the North East. They succeeded to some extent, in intensifying the guerrilla warfare, with agrarian revolution as the axis, in the path of protracted people's war, with the aim of new democratic revolution. In Jharkhand they created a niche in the hearts of the people. The slogan "*Turn Jharkhand into Lalkhand*" has become quite popular.

After the Badal-Bharat opportunistic clique was expelled in the inner party struggle, they could succeed in developing the party further.

In 2003, after they made unity with the RCC(M) and the CPI(ML), 2nd CC, the MCC developed into the MCCI.

Extending the area of activity of the Bihar-Jharkhand-Bengal special area committee, they could expand upto the border areas of Uttar Pradesh, Chattisgarh and Orissa. The 3U area was formed with North Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand. In North Bihar and in Uttarakhand they could develop the struggle. In Assam, they reorganised the work afresh. There was a leap in the activities in Assam this year by attacking on the police and seizing the weapons. They could extend the activity into various nationalities in Assam and have strong links with the nationalities who are fighting for the right to self determination.

The unity talks with the CPI(ML)(PW) started from 9th septemeber, 1981. The renewed unity talks in 2003 culminated in the unity of both the parties on 21st September, 2004 to form a united party, the CPI(Maoist).

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*"The agrarian revolution developed and intensified in our country in the past thirty-five years under the leadership of our two parties. Today, we are intensifying this war by forming several guerilla zones and advancing towards the establishment of Base Areas and transforming the guerilla army into regular liberation army. It is in this background that the joint meeting is going on with the objective of unifying into a single directing Centre for the Indian revolution. Let us pay our profound heartfelt red homage to the thousands of our martyrs, particularly the two great leaders-comrades CM and KC-who were in the forefront as outstanding leaders and made immense contribution in developing a revolutionary line for the Indian revolution. Let us pledge to fulfill their dreams of building base areas through PPW and liberate the country from the clutches of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism."* (From the Welcome Address of the General Secretary, MCCI, 17th September, 2004)

*"KC had written long ago that the true revolutionaries of the CPIML and MCC will one day definitely unite. This prediction is becoming true today."* (from the speech of a CCM of erstwhile MCCI) ★

**A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another.**

**– Mao, Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan**

**It is upto us to organise the people. As for the reactionaries in China, it is upto us to organise the people to overthrow them. Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall. This is also like sweeping the floor; as a rule, where the broom does not reach, the dust will not vanish of itself.**

**– Mao, The Situation and Our Policy after the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan**



## Women Guerrillas in the Camp

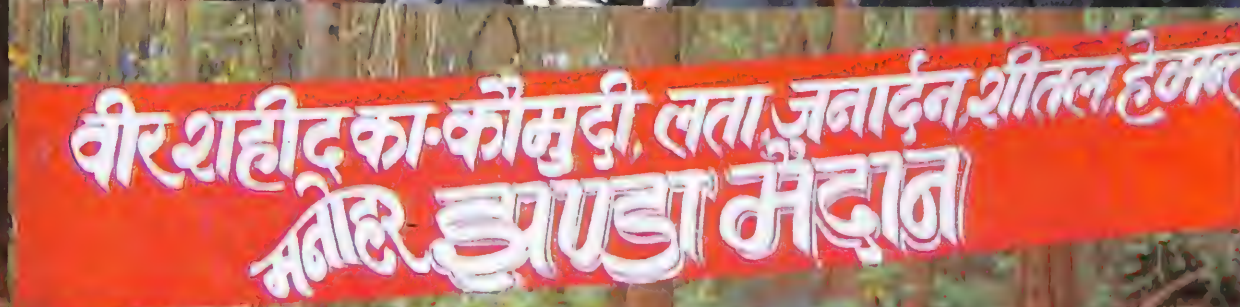
Women have become victims of social, economic, political, cultural and other forms of discrimination, domination and deception ever since the emergence of class divided society. This detestable tradition still continues as a prominent feature of Indian society. Half the population of our country consists of women. Besides suffering from feudal and imperialist exploitation and oppression, women are also victims of patriarchal oppression and domination which are manifested through the family, caste system, culture and property relations.

Today, as a result of imperialist globalization and growing consumerism, the oppression, exploitation and atrocities on women had grown very much.

However, women have at last stood up. They are coming into struggles for women's liberation in a big way. They are fighting shoulder to shoulder with men against the oppression and exploitation of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. They are coming to the fore as leaders and fighters in the Party, Army, technical departments, revolutionary mass organisations and organs of people's revolutionary democratic power. They are actively involved in organizing the women and other oppressed people, and are also playing a significant role in developing the children as the new saplings of the revolution, by teaching them to read and write, and imparting political education. They are actively participating as brave commanders and fighters in various heroic resistance struggles and armed actions like guerilla attacks, raids and ambushes. They are also carrying out the responsibilities of commanders in military formations from guerilla squads to Platoons. Women's role and contribution in Indian Revolution in every aspect – has a bright future.









## Programmes at the Commune

Besides the September 21st Programme three major programmes were held during the course of the one-and-a half months of deliberation. These were :

First the Inaugural Programme where the Red Flag was hoisted, which remained flying throughout the duration of the entire camp. The flag was hoisted by Com. Ganapathy who spoke on its significance. Then wreaths were laid at the memorial column for the martyrs, by representatives of the respective CCs, PLGA, mass organisations, cultural front, etc. Then CC members of both erstwhile parties gave speeches on martyrs, listing out the recent martyrs of both parties. This was followed by a cultural programme by the local troupe and song presentations by CC members, PLGA members and others at the camp.

The other important programme was held on September 9th, the death anniversary of Com. Mao. Here speeches were presented by Central Committee members on the life history of Com. Mao and the significance of Maoism today. The cultural troupe presented, besides others, a song on Maoism.

Finally, October 1st was not only the concluding ceremony of the camp but was celebrated as October Revolution Day. The newly elected General Secretary, Com. Ganapathy, summed up the historical significance of the one-and-half-month camp, the merger process, and the birth of the unified Party. He gave revolutionary thanks to all comrades who participated to make the camp a great success. Then one CC member spoke on the significance of the Chinese revolution and its relevance to the Indian revolution today. After that comrade after comrade came and expressed their feelings towards the just concluded merger. SAC comrades, PLGA commanders, Mahila comrades, cultural troupe comrades, computer staff comrades, and even the Kishore Sena comrades spoke and /or presented poems. Finally the Red Flag was lowered and the programme culminated with the singing of the International.

All these programmes ended with the entire camp dancing to the tune of traditional tribal tunes to which revolutionary words had been given.

Also during the joint CC meetings and the meetings of the new CC, members presented songs and poems in their respective mother tongue. Many songs and all the poems were written during the camp itself, inspired by the merger process and the birth of the unified Party. Though discussions were in all seriousness it was truly a festive occasion.



## Introducing the CPI(ML)[People's War]

The back drop was the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which saw the Chinese proletariat trying to wrench power back from the entrenched bourgeoisie. The Vietnamese valiantly fought the American Goliath in the forests, rivers and fields of Vietnam and the whole world stood up and cheered the Vietnamese and people of Indo-China. Millions marched the streets protesting the imperialist war, the students occupied their universities and the workers their factories. Revolution was in the air. Those were heady intoxicating days when every wrong had to be righted, every oppression challenged and every citadel stormed.

To those who had breathed the exhilarating air of revolution the ossified and status quoist atmosphere in the pro-establishment communist party was suffocating and stifling. The revolt began and Charu Majumdar led the uprising of the Naxalbari peasants and spearheaded the formation of the CPI (Marxist-Leninist). Tens of thousands of revolutionaries, youth and students streamed to the countryside and joined the peasants in the battle for political power. Rapidly, giant strides were taken. Guerrilla warfare broke out in vast parts of the country. The corridors of power were shaken and shocked by the potential ferocity of the storm that was brewing in the sleepy villages of India. A reactionary counter offensive was launched. The fledgling revolutionary movement and party, suffering from the impetuosity of an enthusiastic petty bourgeois youth, soon became the target of the sanguinary Indian State. Unable to get the breathing space to fine tune the tactics and correct the immaturities, Charu Majumdar, was arrested by reactionary state and martyred in custody. Most of the central leadership either fell to the enemy's bullets or were incarcerated. Thousands of cadres also sacrificed their precious lives for the revolution.

As is common in such conditions, opportunists and double dealers crept out of the wood work and stones to spread confusion and disrupt the movement further. With the Central Committee in shambles, the revolutionaries in various areas attempted to regroup and rebuild the movement. One of these efforts led to the formation of the CPI (ML) [People's War] in 1980. Another such effort was the establishment of the Party Unity in 1978. This was later to emerge as the CPI (ML) [Party Unity].

**Marx's philosophical materialism has alone shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx's economic theory has alone explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism.**

**- Lenin, Three Sources and  
Three component parts of Marxism**

In Andhra Pradesh, under the leadership of Comrade Kondapalli Seetharamaiah, a handful of revolutionaries tried to correct the earlier mistakes and re-establish the revolutionary movement through a process of reviving the mass movements and mass organisations. Utilising the situation in 1977, a wide and militant peasant movement was unleashed in Jagityal in Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. By 1980

sufficient forces had been accumulated to take up the task of building up guerrilla zones. The movement was expanded throughout the state and armed squads were sent to the dense forests of Dandakaryana with a view to building the liberated zones. Also the movement spread to other states with the revolutionaries in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu joining the PW. In Bihar, the CPI(ML)(PU) initiated the peasant movement in the Magadh, Koel Kaimur areas and it advanced fighting the armed gangs of the landlords and the reactionary state. While the PW expanded its efforts into the Chattisgarh, Orissa and Maharashtra areas which were contiguous with Andhra Pradesh, the PU extended the work in Bihar and developed in West Bengal and Punjab too.

Braving the waves of repression that the reactionary state had unleashed, both these parties, advanced the peasant armed struggle and expanded and strengthened the guerrilla zones. Withstanding the heavy state repression and the massacres like in Indravalli in Andhra and Arwal in Bihar, the peasant masses rallied around the party and defended it. Tens of thousands of acres of land was seized from the landlords and they were driven away from the villages. The armed squads developed military abilities to resist the well armed reactionary police.

While the revolutionary movement was being developed the party strengthened itself ideologically and politically, both parties successfully fought against the attempts to subvert the party's revolutionary political outlook and



disrupt the organisation. On one hand developing the tactics of the revolutionary movement and on the other hand fighting against the political deviations which arose from time to time - the leadership of both parties matured and grew.

In 1995, the CPI (ML) (PW) held its All India Special Congress and summed up its experiences in the political, organisational and military affairs. In 1997, the CPI (ML)(PU) too held its Conference and drew lessons from its past experiences. Unity efforts between the two organisations resulted in both the organisations merging in August 1998 while retaining the name of CPI (ML)[PW] for the new organisation.

From the early 90's itself, efforts were made to develop armed formations to combat the state's armed forces with the perspective of developing a disciplined, modern and politically motivated people's liberation army. These efforts culminated in the formation of the first communist-led people's guerrilla army in the country on 2nd December, 2000. The first anniversary of the martyrdom of the three CC members, Coms. Shyam, Mahesh and Murali. The People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) thus came into being. Platoons and special guerrilla squads, functioning under military commands, were built in all the guerrilla zone areas.

In 2001, the CPI (ML) [PW] held its 9th Congress. This Congress enriched the Party line in many aspects. This Congress gave the call to take the step forward to establish the liberated areas in the country. As a first step guerrilla bases within the guerrilla zones were built up. A Central Military Commission at the head of a hierarchy of military commands was set up in order to wipe out the state from the areas which had to be liberated. Today even company-level formations have been formed.

In 2003 the relations with MCCI became cordial and unity efforts were taken up.

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*"This is a momentous day in the annals of the Indian revolution. The central leaderships of our two revolutionary parties-CPI(ML)[PW] and MCCI-are meeting here in Comrades Charu Majumdar-Kanai Chatterjee Hall to give the final touches to the most important task of the Indian revolution-the formation of the unified Party and a single directing centre for advancing the revolution. We are on the threshold of realizing the much-awaited and long-cherished dream of thousands of our beloved martyrs, the rank and file of our two parties, the fighters of the PGA/PLGA, the oppressed masses of India and the entire revolutionary forces of the world for seeing a single, unified, strong, proletarian Party that can steer the Indian revolution through every twist and turn and advance through great leaps in the favourable international and domestic situation prevailing today.*

*"The relations between the CPI(ML)[PW] and the MCCI had been always comradely and fraternal in our long association since 1980 barring a brief period of strained relations and clashes. It is our deep commitment to the armed revolution and the interests of the oppressed masses, and firm conviction in MLM that had brought us out of the dark period and drove us to the historic need of unifying into one Party to achieve great breakthroughs in our revolutionary movement.*

*"Let us conclude the unification process by finalising the five documents that are the basis for the Unified Party. By this act the Joint CC will be bringing the unity process to its culmination by merging into a unified CC and declaring this historic event to the entire world. This will unfold a new chapter in the Indian Communist movement and will signify a great leap in the ongoing revolutionary war in the country. As the only revolutionary Maoist Parties that have built the people's guerilla armies in India, this unification of the two armies will hasten the process of formation of the PLA and the establishment of Liberated Areas in our country. This, in turn, will unleash the huge, latent revolutionary potential of the oppressed masses of India and create a wave of mass political struggles in the country. The enemy is planning an all-out war to suppress the growing tide of the revolution. Let us pledge ourselves to fulfill the dreams of the thousands of our martyrs and defeat the enemy's countrywide coordinated offensive based on the revolutionary Maoist line enunciated in the documents of the Unified Party." (From Welcome Address Of General Secretary, CPI(ML) [People's War] - 17/9/2004)*

## The MLM Document

'Hold High the Bright Red Banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism' shortly called the MLM document, is the first of the five documents which the newly unified party – CPI(Maoist) – has prepared in the course of the unity process between MCCI and the CPI(ML)[PW].

### Marxism - the science of revolution of the oppressed

Marxism, developed by Karl Marx and Engels, is a science of the revolution of the proletariat and of the oppressed and exploited masses, the science of victory of socialism in all countries, the science of building a communist society. Marxism is the first stage in the development of the scientific ideology of the proletariat.

### Leninism - Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution

Lenin strongly defended, creatively applied and developed Marxism. Lenin enriched all the three components of Marxism. *Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.* The science of Marxism took a qualitative leap into the second and higher stage. Com. Stalin defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in the fight against various kinds of opportunism. He made contributions to building socialism in Soviet Russia.

### Maoism-the new and third stage of Marxism-Leninism

Com. Mao, strongly defended Marxism-Leninism and creatively applied and developed it. Mao further enriched all the three components of Marxism. He developed Marxism-Leninism to a qualitatively new and third higher stage in the fields of philosophy, political economy, military science, and scientific socialism.

### Mao's invaluable contributions to Marxist Philosophy and Political economy

Mao made immense contributions to Marxist philosophy through his essays "On Practice" and "On Contradiction". He brought a leap in the understanding of the law of contradictions. Mao pointed out that the law of contradiction

***"For dialectical philosophy nothing is final, absolute, sacred. It reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything; nothing can endure before it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and of passing away, of endless ascendancy from the lower to the higher."***

***- Fredrick Engels, The End of Classical German Philosophy***

is the fundamental law of motion governing nature, society, and human thought. Mao masterfully applied the relation between matter and consciousness to the relationship between theory and practice, immensely contributing to the theory of knowledge.

In the realm of political economy, com Mao contributed by analyzing the concrete laws of motion governing socialist construction. In his masterful writings, "Ten major relationships", "Critique of Soviet Economy" and dur-

ing the GPCR Mao developed new concepts for building Socialism.

### Protracted People's War - an important weapon in the Marxist-Leninist Arsenal

What is the path of revolution in colonial or semi colonial countries? Before the Chinese revolution, the path of armed insurrection, known as the soviet model of revolution, was considered as the general path for seizure of power. Mao solved this question by adopting the new path ie Protracted People's War. This is an important contribution to the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism.

### New Democratic Revolution

Mao said that the semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries will pass through two different but interlinked stages. The first stage will be the New democratic stage, which will uninterruptedly pass over to the socialist stage directed towards communism. Mao declared that after the Russian revolution, hereafter the bourgeois revolutions would have to be inevitably led by the proletariat to make them a success. The democratic revolutions are called New democratic revolutions directed against imperialism and feudalism.

### The revolutionary mass line – "from the masses to the masses"

Com. Mao developed the new understanding on the revolutionary mass line based on his famous dictum the People alone are the motive force in making world history. Take the unsystematic and scattered ideas and concen-



trate them through study, then go to the masses and explain till the masses embrace them.

### Three magic weapons - Party, Army and the United Front

The three magic weapons – the Party, Army and the United Front – and their inter relationship in the PPW is another major contribution of Mao. **“The Party is the heroic warrior wielding the two weapons, the UF and the Armed struggle to storm the enemy’s positions.”** The Party is the key aspect in the inter relationship of the three.

### Military line

Mao developed the proletarian military science and the military line of the Chinese revolution comprehensively. He formulated the basic principles of building up the Red Army, the strategy and tactics during the Chinese revolutionary war, the laws that govern the people’s war. One of the greatest contributions of Com Mao is to precisely develop the strategic significance of guerrilla warfare.

### Great Debate and GPCR

After the successful completion of the Chinese revolution, Com Mao made a brilliant contribution in the fight against Khrushchev modern revisionism which is popularly known as the Great Debate. Mao led the historic and earth shaking GPCR. It represented a qualitative leap forward in defending and exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was directed against the capitalist roaders that emerged in the socialist society. The GPCR is a completely new method in the arsenal of MLM to prevent the restoration of capitalism.

We view that there is no Chinese wall between Marxism, Leninism and Mao thought/Maoism, which has been adopted, as a new, third and qualitatively higher stage of Marxism. MLM has been forged in the crucible of class struggles, including the ideological struggles against bourgeois ideology.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the most advanced scientific ideology of the proletariat. It is an integrated whole. The 9th congress of the CPC summing up the Mao Thought(now Maoism), summed up Mao Tse-tung Thought as a completely new and higher stage of Marxism and Leninism.

Armed with this ideological weapon, we, the CPI (Maoist), by applying Maoism to the concrete conditions of India and the contemporary world are confident that we can deepen and advance the PPW in India to success.

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*“How does the proletariat give political leadership through its party to all the revolutionary classes in the country? First, by putting forward basic political slogans that accord with the course of historical development and by putting forward slogans of action for each stage of development and each major turn of events in order to translate these political slogans into reality. For instance, we have put forward the basic slogans for “an anti-Japanese national united front” and for “a unified democratic republic”, but we have also put forward the slogans, “end the civil war”, “fight for democracy” and “carry out armed resistance”, as specific objectives for concerted action by the entire nation; without such specific objectives political leadership is out of the question. Second, the proletariat, and especially its vanguard the Communist Party, should set an example through its boundless enthusiasm and loyalty in achieving the specific objectives when the whole country goes into action for them. In the fight to fulfill all the tasks of the anti-Japanese national united front and the democratic republic, Communists should be the most far-sighted, the most self-sacrificing, the most resolute, and the least prejudiced in sizing up situations, and should rely on the majority of the masses and win their support. Third, the Communist Party should establish proper relations with its allies and develop and consolidate its alliance with them, while adhering to the principle of never relinquishing its defined political objectives. Fourth, it should expand the ranks of the Communist Party and maintain its ideological unity and strict discipline; It is by doing all these things that the Communist Party gives effect to its political leadership of the people throughout China. They constitute the foundation for guaranteeing our political leadership and for ensuring that the revolution will win complete victory and not be disrupted by the vacillations of our allies.”*

*(The Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the period of Resistance against Japan, 1937, Vol. 1)*

## Party Programme

The Party Programme is the second of the five documents which the newly constituted CPI(Maoist) presents before the workers and peasants and all the revolutionary people, progressive, democratic, patriotic and justice loving people and party's rank and file. This was prepared in the course of the unity process between the MCCI and the CPI(ML)[PW]. This programme aims to end the indirect rule, exploitation, and oppression by imperialism and the rule and exploitation by the feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism, and to establish the people's democratic rule, the democratic dictatorship of people under the leadership of proletariat.

The 1970 programme of the CPI(ML) and the MCC document of 1969 have provided the correct revolutionary general line for the Indian revolution after breaking the decades-old entrenched revisionism in the Indian communist movement. The line laid out in these two documents has been further enriched in this Programme.

Analysing in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, while summing up the Indian communist movement and the movement worldwide, the party programme concretely presents the history of the Indian state and society, analysis of classes, the targets of the revolution, the identification of the friends and foes, major and principal contradictions, motive forces of the revolution, the stage of the revolution, path of the revolution, and the central, basic, immediate, and long term tasks. Based on these generalisations, the Party also formulated the strategy and tactics of Indian revolution.

### **New changes**

After the World War Two, there were great changes in the balance of forces. Instead of the direct rule, exploitation, and control by imperialism, in the old colonial form, imperialism began adopting indirect rule, exploitation, and control. Thus in 1947, after the fake independence, India was transformed into a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society under the neo-colonial form of indirect rule, exploitation, and control.

### **Two stages of the Indian Revolution**

The first task of the Indian revolution is to make the New Democratic Revolution a success so that the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society can be transformed into a people's democratic society, an independent, self-reliant and democratic India. The task in the second stage is to take the democratic revolution to the next stage of socialism. The first stage is the precondition for the next. It is not possible to reach socialism in one leap. In between the two stages of new democracy and socialism there is no stage of bourgeois dictatorship.

### **Some basic tasks of the New democratic state**

1. It will confiscate all the banks, business enterprises and companies of imperialist capital and annul all imperialist debt. It will nullify all unequal treaties and agreements with imperialist countries.
2. It will confiscate all the land belonging to the landlords and religious institutions and will redistribute it among the landless poor peasants and agricultural labourers on the basis of the slogan of 'land to the tiller'.
3. It will regulate the industries of the national bourgeoisie. It will protect the small industries and help their growth. It will encourage the development of industry based on the agriculture.
4. The New democratic state will fulfill all the basic necessities of workers, peasants, and the toiling masses. It will assure the right to employment to students and youth, will end all discrimination based on the gender and caste. It will guarantee equal opportunities to women including equal rights in the properties. Assuring the equal opportunities, for dalits and adivasis, it will provide special facilities, including reservations.
5. It will assure the oppressed nations the right to self-determination including the right of secession and will endeavour to unite them on the basis of equality.
6. It will implement democracy to the people, and dictatorship to the few who are reactionaries.

### **The Goal**

Our goal is the establishment of socialism by advancing the new democratic revolution and continuing the revolution in the socialism we have to reach communism the world over.

In the end, this programme calls upon the Indian people to implement it and to make success the Indian New Democratic Revolution to pave way for a liberated, democratic, Socialist India devoid of exploitation. The programme calls upon the people to participate in the great movement. The CPI(Maoist), as the part of the international proletariat and the vanguard of the India proletariat, presents the programme before the Indian people and the country and pledges to implement it while struggling resolutely. ❖



# Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution

The Strategy and Tactics of the Indian Revolution is the third of the five documents which the newly unified party – CPI(Maoist) – has prepared in the course of the unity process between the MCCI and the CPI(ML)[PW]. This document was based on an analysis of the concrete conditions in the country in the light of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

This document was based on the past documents and rich experiences of the two streams of the Communist Revolutionary movement in India – the M-L and MCC streams – represented by the CPI (ML)[PW] and the MCCI. This document has taken the positive aspects of both streams, analysed the past experiences and produced a document on the Strategy and Tactics, richer in content.

In this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, and viewing the Indian New Democratic Revolution as part of the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution, this document detailedly analysed and correctly presented the nature of Indian society and the State; its class analysis; the targets of Indian revolution; the stage of Indian revolution; the politics, economics and culture of new democratic revolution; and the concrete tasks of people's democracy. Here we present a brief summary of this document.

## Strategy and Tactics

In any country, based on the programme for the given stage of the revolution, the Strategy and Tactics chalks out the tactical line and the concrete methods, plans and policies to achieve the goal set for that given stage of revolution. This strategy and tactics is determined based on a detailed analysis of the world situation and its reflection in that particular country utilising a creative application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete situation. In this way strategy determines the direction of the main blow of the proletariat at the given stage of the revolution, and basing on the strength of the revolutionary forces it evolves a detailed plan and direction for the revolution. On the other hand tactics determines the line of conduct of the proletariat during a relatively small period, amidst the ups and downs, ebb and flow of the movement, and puts forward appropriate methods to be adopted for the given situation. These tactics will always be subordinate to the overall strategy and will serve it.

## Indian State, Society and Revolution

The Indian state and society is semi-colonial and semi-feudal under the neo-colonial type of indirect rule, exploitation and control. The Indian revolution, under the leadership of the proletariat will establish new democracy through the path of armed struggle by overthrowing imperialism and their running dogs – the big landlords and the comprador bureaucrat bourgeois classes. In other words, it will overthrow imperialism to establish national freedom, and feudalism to usher in democracy as a first step towards establishing socialism in the country with the long term goal of developing a communist society. The axis of this revolution will be armed agrarian revolution.

## Friends and Enemies

The proletariat will be the leading force of the revolution while the main force will be the peasantry, particularly the poor and landless peasants and the agricultural labourers. The petty-bourgeois class is a reliable ally of the revolution, while the national bourgeoisie is a vacillating ally. The enemies of revolution are the big landlord and big bourgeois classes and the targets of the revolution are imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism.

## Path of Indian Revolution

The path of the Indian revolution is the Chinese path; i.e., the path of protracted people's war. It will follow the path of armed agrarian revolution to set up Base Areas in the backward regions, and slowly spread these throughout the country encircling the cities and finally capturing them.

## The Immediate and Central Tasks and Three Magic Weapons

While accepting that revisionism is the main danger in the present era, the Strategy and Tactics has shown that the parliamentary path and participation in elections is diametrically opposite to the path of protracted people's war. It further adds that the main form of struggle will be armed struggle and the main form of organisation will be the people's army. All other forms of struggle and organisation will be complimentary to this. The task of establishing and developing the Base Areas and the People's Army will be the basic, central and immediate tasks, while all other tasks of the Party will be geared to facilitate and promote this central task. The main centre and focus of activities will be the rural areas. In addition, the development of the three magic weapons of revolution – the Party, Army and United Front – will also be determined by the above mentioned direction of the revolution.

## General Tasks

Finally, the document has presented a class line and mass line, to rely on the basic classes, particularly the poor landless peasants and workers, to advance and spread the armed agrarian guerrilla war and thereby convert the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army into a People's Liberation Army and the Guerrilla Zones into Base Areas and thereby create a widespread upsurge throughout the country.

In the light of the imperialist globalisation taking place today the Strategy and Tactics has further called for the intensification of the struggles of all the oppressed classes, for the struggle against the more dangerous hindu fascist forces and for the struggles of the oppressed nationalities and linking all these struggles with the ongoing armed agrarian revolution taking place in the country under proletarian leadership.

Today, this Strategy and Tactics has been put forward before the revolutionary masses of the country and the entire Party rank-and-file, which, if creatively applied, can result in new hopes in the revolution, taking the country toward victory of the New Democratic Revolution. ♦

## Political Resolution

The Political Resolution is the fourth of the five documents which the newly unified party – CPI(Maoist) – has prepared in the course of the unity process between the MCCI and the CPI(ML)[PW].

### *International Situation*

The present day world is under a great disorder, turbulence and instability rarely witnessed after World War Two. The collapse of Soviet Social imperialism and the complete integration of the erstwhile bureaucratic capitalist states of East Europe, Soviet Union in the 1990s and China into the world capitalist system have not mitigated the crisis of world capitalism. This ever intensifying crisis of the world capitalist system is the basis for the chaos, turmoil and instability which has become the characteristic of the contemporary world situation. After the 9/11 incident, in the name of fighting against terrorism US imperialism is unleashing a series of wars of aggression and carrying out attacks on the people all over the world. This has generated a powerful backlash from the people in various forms. Thus a new situation has emerged where instability and turmoil have deepened further.

The super power rivalry for the redivision of the world market and hegemony, which was the hall mark of the decades of the 70's and 80's, has been replaced by the rivalry between various imperialist powers from the 1990s. The dog fight for the near stagnant world market, control over sources of raw materials and strategic regions between these imperialist powers has further sharpened the contradiction among them, thus transforming various regions of the world into a bone of contention. Ongoing trade wars, the emergence of trade blocs and the intense competition for economic resources and political control indicate the intensifying inter-imperialist contradiction. Hence, the danger of world war still exists. At present the oil rich Middle East has become the focus of inter imperialist contradictions.

US imperialism although weakened, is the No 1 enemy of the world people. It is the biggest exploiter, oppressor and supporter of counter-revolution and reaction all over the world. Being the only super power it has decided to go unilaterally in their war for domination over Afghanistan and Iraq, and for the sole control over these strategic regions. It is using the United Nations as its tool for world domination. It is not only suppressing the masses of the oppressed countries but also crushing its 'own' people. This so-called fight against global terrorism is nothing but a conspiracy to drown the people's struggles against imperialist war designs and globalisation, national liberation struggles and revolutionary movements in rivers of blood, particularly the advancing people's war in Nepal, India, Peru, Philippines and Turkey.

Vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America are continuing as the storm centres of world revolution. Guerrilla war against US occupation is intensifying in Iraq and Afghanistan. People's war under the leadership of the Maoist parties in Nepal, India, Peru, Philippines and Turkey is advancing. The workers in the imperialist countries are fighting militantly against the policies of globalisation. Genuine revolutionary parties based on MLM have already emerged and are emerging in several capitalist countries.

The objective situation to advance the New Democratic Revolution in oppressed countries, proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries – two streams of the World Socialist Revolution – is excellent. But the strength of the subjective forces, organised strength of Maoist parties, is not yet strong enough to carry out this task successfully. Due to this weakness vast sections of the struggling masses, all over the world are under the influence/leadership of fundamentalists, revisionists, social democrats and NGOs. It is an immediate task of the Maoist parties to bring out the workers, peasants and other oppressed masses out of their influence and organise them under their leadership.

### *Domestic Situation*

Today, particularly after 1990, with a major offensive of finance capital under the banner of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation, the Indian ruling classes have more brazenly been acting according to the naked dictates of the imperialists. This process which got a fillip during the PVN-Manmohan govt was further intensified and took a new turn after the BJP-led NDA govt assumed office in Delhi. Particularly the US imperialists assumed more dominant position in all affairs of Indian polity. While chanting the "swadeshi" mantra they implemented all policies dictated by US imperialists. The new Congress govt is trying to hoodwink the people by implementing the reform programmes with a "human face".

The domination of US imperialism does not mean that the penetration of other imperialist forces in the economic and political spheres does not exist. Rather, the influence of the EU, particularly Germany, France along with Russia and Japan continue to increase. India is tightly interwoven into the world imperialist system. The further penetration of all these imperialist forces has not only sharpened the class contradictions but also increased the cracks among the ruling classes.

Due to the imperialist dictated policies of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation by the central and state governments the living condition of the Indian people have deteriorated. The working class has become a victim of lay-offs, retrenchment, closure, wage freeze, scrapping of other social benefits, contract and casualization of labour, curtailing minimum trade union rights etc. The vast majority of peasants are still under the yoke of feudal exploitation. They are forced to live in the most wretched conditions. The agricultural sector is placed at the mercy of the imperialists and the CBB for seeds, fertilisers, and farm machineries. The price hike of all agricultural inputs on the one hand and the negligible price on their produce has virtually pushed the entire poor farmers and a sizable section of middle farmers in handing over their lands to the big landlords. Privatisation and commercialisation of education has deprived the weaker sections of society from education. Large number of indigenous, small and medium scale industries are being closed. Attacks on Dalits by casteist forces are increasing day by day. Adivasis are deprived of their livelihood and culture. Sexual harassment and other atrocities are increasing in recent years, particularly because of imperialist globalisation and consumerism. Communal pogroms on the religious minorities, particularly the Muslims, are carried out by the Hindu fascist forces with the backing of imperialists. Thousands of armed forces are sent to put down the nationality struggles.

The Indian people who have a very rich tradition of heroic struggles and sacrifice are fighting militantly against the anti-people policies of the Indian ruling classes and the imperialist monsters. People's movements, including the people's war led by Maoist forces, are advancing in many parts of India. The unification achieved by the two Maoist parties, the MCCI and the CPI (ML) [PW], is a big leap in the Communist movement in India and also has a positive impact in South Asia and the ICM. The revolutionary movement is advancing by facing the all round attack of the ruling classes backed by imperialism towards establishing the Base Areas and transforming the PLGA into a PLA. In this process thousands of martyrs heroically laid down their precious lives for the cause of NDR, Socialism and Communism.

On the whole the current situation in India is marked by deepening crises and possibilities of great revolutionary advance. This can be effectively utilised by strengthening the party, establishing proletarian leadership at all levels, Bolshevising the party by purging it of alien class trends, unifying all communist revolutionaries on the basis of MLM, building a broad-based united front of all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces under the leadership of the working class, by building guerrilla zones and the people's army with the aim establishing liberated base areas. ☉

## Party Constitution

The Party Constitution is the last of the five documents which the newly unified party – CPI(Maoist) – has prepared in the course of the unity process between the MCCI and the CPI(ML)[PW].

The unified Party has put forward a new Constitution firmly based on the Bolshevik principles of democratic centralism, with the core comprising of professional revolutionaries. A wide network of Part timers will facilitate the Party to exist deep within the masses. It will be underground for the entire period of the New Democratic Revolution and its members will comprise the cream of society - principled, selfless, courageous, dedicated, modest, hard-working and fully committed to the cause of the Indian revolution and to socialism and communism. All members will put the interests of the Party and the people before their own personal interests. It will continuously view itself and its members self-critically in order to correct non-proletarian tendencies that inevitably enter the Party and seek to corrupt it from within. The ideological basis of the Party is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It will lead the two main weapons of the Indian revolution – the People's Army and the United Front. It will strictly adhere to the principles of proletarian internationalism and seek relations with all other Maoist forces of the worlds on an equal footing. Its goal is communism and the first step in that direction is the New Democratic Revolution in India transforming to socialism.

The document states *"During the whole course the comrades throughout the party must cherish the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide, must adhere to the principles of practising Marxism and not revisionism, working for unity and not for splits, and being open and aboveboard and not engaging in intrigue and conspiracy, must be good at correctly distinguishing contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy and thereby correctly handling those, fighting left and right opportunism and non proletariat trend must develop the style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practising criticism and self-criticism."*

The Constitution presented the "Aims & Objectives" of the Party, the criteria for membership, the rights and duties of party members, the organisational principles of the party, party discipline, the party's organisational structure, the party Congress, the rights and duties of central committee, the method for internal debates in the party, and the question of party funds. \*



## Newly formed PLGA – A Beacon of Hope for the Indian Masses

21 September, 2004 will stand out as one of the most significant days in the annals of the Indian revolutionary movement. Fulfilling the long standing wishes of the toiling masses of India two revolutionary parties leading the Indian revolution for over three decades, the CPI (ML) [People's War] and the MCCI, merged to form the CPI(Maoist).

Along with this merger the People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) formed on 2nd December 2000 under the leadership of CPI(ML)[People's War] and the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA) formed on 22nd April 2003 under MCCI merged to form the new PLGA. It will continue to observe its raising day on 2nd December 2000 signifying the first anniversary of the martyrdom of the three beloved leaders, Coms. Shyam, Mahesh and Murali.

This PLGA will intensify the people's war and develop guerrilla bases within the guerrilla zones in order to form revolutionary base areas and transform the PLGA into a People's Liberation Army.

The PLGA is a beacon of hope for the exploited masses to fight against the economic, social, political and cultural oppression of landlords, comprador big bourgeoisie and imperialists and establish people's political power. It is a weapon in the hands of the people to build a new democratic India by seizing political power area wise by waging protracted people's war. In order to spread the armed agrarian revolutionary movement throughout the country, it will strive to organise people into the PLGA. It will on the one hand recruit youth into the secondary and main forces of the PLGA and on the other organise the broad masses into the people's militia. It will arm itself by seizing weapons from the enemy.

It appeals to all the patriotic youth to join the PLGA in big numbers so as to liberate India from the yoke of imperialist and feudal exploitation.

### Introducing the PGA

From the very beginning, in the 1970s, armed guerrilla formations were constituted with the aim of establishing Base Areas. But due to the setback in the movement these could not grow.

The first seeds for the present PGA forces were sown in 1980, when the CPI(ML)[People's War] sent regular squads comprising of 5-7 members and equipped with self-made fire arms into prospective strategic areas. Their main task was to prepare the people for the seizure of political power through protracted people's war.

These guerrilla squads had their first lessons in military operations during the course of the armed struggle itself; starting with attacks on single targets, then moving onto launch attacks on bigger targets, raids on police stations and camps and laying ambushes and launching short surprise attacks to annihilate the enemy forces. During all these

**Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party.**

**Mao, Red Book**

operations it seized hundreds of weapons and thousands of rounds of ammunition from the enemy, while at the same time killing hundreds of the enemy forces.

During the course of learning war by waging war, these guerrilla squads developed both quantitatively and qualitatively. As the war intensified first SGSs and later Platoons were formed with experienced members drawn from these earlier guerrilla squads. As these guerrilla squads' main task was to rouse and organise the people for the seizure of political power, they simultaneously built up a broad revolutionary movement in their areas of operation clearing the enemy elements from those areas and establishing rudimentary forms of people's power. Village Defence Squads were also formed with militant elements who emerged out of the revolutionary movement.

Until the year 2000, the guerrilla war being waged by these forces was going on in an uncoordinated manner without a centralized command. On the other hand, the enemy intensified his war of suppression by launching a well coordinated multi-pronged offensive which can be met and repulsed only with a well coordinated war of resistance under a centralised command. Not only that, conditions also ripened for the formation of a guerrilla force under a centralised command as these guerrilla squads, SGSs, Platoons and village defence squads developed further both in number and in their fighting skills. So keeping these in mind, the CPI (ML)[People's War] formed the People's Guerrilla Army, comprising of three wings, the main force, the secondary force and the base force on 2nd December 2000, that day signifying the first anniversary of the great martyrdom of our beloved leaders Coms. Shyam, Mahesh and Murali.

This PGA, worked under the political and military guidance of the CC of the CPI(ML)[People's War]. It is a fighting and organising force which has both political and military responsibilities. During its course of development for the past 24 years, it grew out of small squads into a powerful force capable of challenging the enemy blow to blow. Starting from small pockets, this force extended to wider areas, turning vast areas into guerrilla zones, with the perspective of transforming them into Liberated Areas. Thousands of heroic martyrs laid down their lives during this 24 years course of building the PGA from scratch to a mighty force that is creating panic in the hearts of the class enemies and challenging the very foundations of the state. It recently took a qualitative leap by raising a new formation – the Company in its main forces. The Koraput campaign, in which it successfully raided the police headquarters of Koraput district and seven other targets in that town and nearby police stations simultaneously capturing more than 500 weapons and 25,000 rounds of ammunition, reflects the qualitative leap in its fighting skills. Not only that, it improvised its arsenal by establishing its own manufacturing units.

### **Introducing the PLGA**

The People's Liberation Guerilla Army (PLGA) is a revolutionary political-military organisation formed under the leadership of the MCCI. This is a military organisation to fulfil the political objectives of revolution. This is inspired by rich scientific ideal of M-L-M. This is filled with the feeling of serving the people. It was formed on 23 April 2003. It has three main forces – i) Base Force – Self Defence Squads (SDS) and people's militia, ii) Middle Force – Local Regular Guerrilla Squads (LRGS) and Special Guerrilla Squads (SRGS), iii) Main Force – Platoon, Company etc. Commission at upper level and commands at lower levels have also been formed.

PLGA was formed with revolutionary guerrillas tempered in armed agrarian revolutionary war, who have mainly come from the labouring class and landless and poor peasant households. From the middle of the decade of 1960, it went ahead with the slogan of "Plunge into armed agrarian revolutionary struggle, speed up the work of building people's army and red base areas." Armed agrarian revolutionary struggle started with the slogan of political power in the hands of peasant committee and land in the hand of actual peasants. It was started in the strategic areas chosen with a view to forming people's army and base area. It started initially by fighting against feudal, reactionary goondas, thieves and dacoits and private gangsters of the landlords and later police and para-military forces. It began organising in the form of self defence squads and people's militia after first forming irregular local guerrilla squads with disciplined and somewhat politically conscious elements. Later

**The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them.**

**– Mao, Red Book**

after the increase in numbers, by forming local regular guerrilla squads with mostly professional members, guerrilla military forces developed from small to big formations. "Disarm the enemy, arm the people", "Smash the enemy, preserve yourself.

To preserve yourself, smashing the enemy is inevitable". Holding on to these Maoist principles, initially waging small battles and later big actions of raids and ambushes, PLGA armed itself with modern weaponry like guns, rifles, sten guns, carbines, LMG, SLR, INSAS, mortar, grenades seized from the enemy in large numbers. Seizing thousands of bullets and ammunition, it has strengthened itself and is continuously doing that. On 7 April, 2004, it did a big ambush on a large contingent of police and paramilitary forces in Saranda forest area in which 28 police personnel were killed and many modern weapons and ammunition were seized from them. This incident created terror in the enemy.

PLGA has arrived in the form of fulfilment of dreams of thousands of martyrs, as a ray of hope of the people, an invaluable heritage of world proletariat and as a terror to comprador bureaucratic capitalism. It is committed to continuing and developing the revolutionary war by uniting with broad masses, improving their living standards, forming base areas to become self-sufficient in weapons, ammunition, food, clothing, medicines and various requirements and to develop all kinds of institutions from production units to distribution system.

### **Newly Formed PLGA Slogans :**

*Recruit youth in big numbers to transform PLGA into PLA !*

*Help people to build their Organs of Power!*

*Seize the arms of the enemy to arm the PLGA !*

*Intensify the People's War and defeat the multi-pronged attack on the people!*

*Integrate with the people ! Serve the People !*

## Message to the Jail Comrades

**Dear brave Comrades !**

Red salutes!

You have been incarcerated in various jails of the country. But you are continuing the great revolutionary traditions of defiance and fight against the tortures in the prisons. From CC members to mass organization members, hundred have been jailed. Thousand have also been jailed under the draconian TADA/POTA. Many women comrades and even children and old comrades too have not been spared. You are present in the jails of AP, Jharkhand, Bihar, Chattisgarh, Orissa, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, MP, UP and Uttarakhand. The CC of the unified CPI (Maoist) is extending its revolutionary greetings to you all. You are firmly holding aloft the dignity of the red flag even in the enemy camp.

Comrades, you are aware that our two parties had been trying to unite since some time past. The MCCI and CPI (ML)[PW] were united on 21st September 2004, to form a unified CPI (Maoist). The unity made the aspirations and hopes of the revolutionary masses of India and of the revolutionary parties of the world, a reality. The CC(P) is proud to inform you with much joy and enthusiasm that you comrades no more belong to your erstwhile revolutionary parties. You are now members of the new unified party, the CPI (Maoist). But, the thought that you are not amidst us on such a momentous occasion is troubling our hearts deeply. We can easily understand that more than us, it is you comrades may feel agony for not being with us on this historic occasion.

Comrades! Enemy arrested you during the course of fighting. The fighting is a part of protracted people's war being waged to achieve victory in the new democratic revolution, which is inseparable from World Socialist Revolution. Comrades, you held high the prestige of the Party, standing like a rock bearing the severe tortures that the enemy inflicted on you. As revolutionaries, comrades, you turned the jails into schools of revolution and centres of struggle. Your ongoing fight is defying all sorts of enemy repression on you. The CC(P) of the CPI(Maoist) conveys its revolutionary red salutes to you comrades, for the victories you achieved in the jail struggles you led.

You waged many a struggle recently. You are still waging struggles in all AP jails, Gulbarga jail in Karnataka, the Chennai jail (21 male and 5 women comrades) in Tamil Nadu. In various jails of Bihar and Jharkhand hundreds of revolutionaries are languishing. In the Bewoor jail of Patna, Gaya, Buxar, Bhagalpur, Muzafarpur, Hazaribagh, Ranchi, Patna, Jehanabad, Bethia and Bagha jails and in various prisons all over the country, you have once again established the tradition of glorious struggles even in the dark dungeons of the enemy. You the revolutionary prisoners of Midnapur Central Jail in West Bengal have fought one after another struggles against repression and for the status of political prisoners. Though a harsh sentence of life imprisonment was imposed on eleven of our important comrades in Baripara (Orissa), on the same day, on which the unity resolution was adopted, those comrades stood unmoved and shook the entire court hall with full throated revolutionary slogans. In the same way 11 revolutionary peasant leaders, on whom death sentences were imposed, are displaying a death defying courage and valour, and they are at present languishing in the prisons of Bihar-Jharkhand.

Also a large number of comrades from the fraternal CPN (Maoist) of Nepal are languishing in Indian jails, including many from leadership. We also send you revolutionary greetings from our new party CPI(Maoist) and vow to spare no effort to get you free.

The struggles you waged inside the prisons, joined hands with the struggle of the democrats outside, putting the severe state repression to shame. Many democrats, workers, peasants and employees came out in support of your struggles. The CC(P) of our new unified CPI(Maoist) conveys its red salutes to all of you comrades, who are firmly continuing the struggle even while you are in the custody of the enemy.

We know quite clearly that the fact our two parties united to form a new single party will gladden your hearts and will further strengthen your firm determination. Comrades, we hope that you will strive with this new enthusiasm and redoubled determination, even in the enemy's camps, to achieve the goal for which our beloved martyrs sacrificed their lives.

The struggles you are waging in prisons are going on as a part and parcel of the new democratic revolution. We will definitely mobilise more people's support for your struggles. Comrades, we are sure that the fascist prison walls cannot keep you in confinement for long.

We are waiting eagerly for that day when you will join us breaking away your shackles. The CC(P) of our new unified Party, the CPI(Maoist) once again conveys its red, red salutes to you comrades !

**With Revolutionary Greetings,**

**Central Committee (P)**

**CPI (Maoist)**

**September 30th, 2004**



# Principal Tasks of the Party

- \* Intensify and Advance the People's War! Establish People's Political Power!
- \* Strengthen the PLGA and Advance towards PLA and Liberated Base Areas!

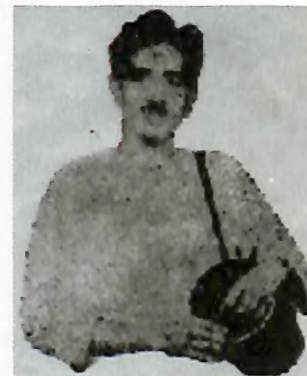
## *Political Tactical Slogans*

- \* Intensify and Advance the People's War! Establish People's Political Power!
- \* Build mighty mass movement against the imperialist war designs and imperialist dictated Liberalisation, Privatisation, and Globalisation!
- \* Expose, Isolate and defeat the more dangerous Hindu Fascist forces, while exposing all other fundamentalist forces also!
- \* Resist and Defeat growing state repression and fight for the repeal of all Black laws!
- \* Fight the expansionist designs of the Indian ruling classes backed by Imperialism!

## **Other Immediate Tasks**

- \* Fight Imperialism, particularly US imperialism, the no.1 terrorist and enemy of the world people!
- \* Propagate and popularise Marxism-Leninism and Maoism!
- \* Build powerful Urban movement, particularly of the working class, as complimentary to the ongoing armed agrarian revolutionary war in the country side!
- \* Support the struggles of the nationalities for self determination of including to right of secession!
- \* Expose and defeat the fake communist parties!
- \* Support the peoples' movements against imperialism and reaction all over the world, including the people's war in Nepal, Philippines, Peru and Turkey!

## Some Leading Martyred Comrades



**Communism is at once a complete system of proletarian ideology and a new social system. It is different from any other ideology or social system, and is the most complete, progressive, revolutionary and rational system in human history.**

**— Mao, Red Book**





“THE PHILOSOPHERS HAVE ONLY INTERPRETED THE WORLD IN VARIOUS WAYS - THE POINT IS TO CHANGE IT.”

– Karl Marx, *Theses on Feuerbach*

